

## Message Text

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43

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 SAB-01 TRSE-00 AF-06 /076 W

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R 190943Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY SANA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5762

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

ADDIS ABABA 345

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY ROGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY TEHERAN

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

USCINCEUR

COMIDEASTFOR

S E C R E T SANA 1554 SECTION 2 OF 2

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SA, YE

SUBJ: YAR REGIME CELEBRATES ITS FIRST ANNICRRSARY; A LOOK BACK

BEIRUT PLEASE PASS BAGHDAD

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HAMDI WAS FULLY IN CONTROL, ALTHOUGH WITH TYPICAL CAREFULNESS HE DID NOT REMOVE SINAN'S RELATIVES FROM MILITARY COMMAND UNTIL FOLLOWING APRIL. AYNi, WHOSE PRESTIGE HAD STEADILY DWINDLED, WAS PEREMPTORILY "RELEASED" FROM HIS DUTIES AS PRIMIN IN JANUARY.

8. ONE KEY TO HAMDI'S POLITICAL SUCCESS HAS BEEN MASTERUL BALANCE HAS HAS STRUCK BETWEEN CLOSE TIES TO SAUDI ARABIA AND HAS APPEAL TO EVERY YEMENI'S INNATE NATIONAL PRIDE.HMHE WAS ABLE TO CONVINCE SAG THAT APPOINTMENT OF AYNi WAS ONLY AN EXPEDIENT TO KEEP LEFT QUIET WHILE HE CONSOLIDATED CONTROL OVER MILITARY. HE THEN USED HIS SUPPORT FROM SAG TO KEEP SAUDI-SUPPORTED

TRIBAL LEADERS AND RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVES BEHIND HIM WHILE LEFTISTS AROUND AYNi AND HIS OPPORTUNISTIC ABU LUHUM RELATIVES WERE ELIMINATED. CHARACTER-ISTICALLY HE DID NOT APPOINT A PRO-SAUDI CONSERVATIVE IN AYNi'S PLACE, BUT A YOUNG TECHNOCRAT WITH NO POLITICAL TIES. FINALLY IN PAST TWO MONTHS, HE HAS USED DISPUTE WITH CORRUPT TRIBAL LEADERSHIP HEADED BY CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT SHAIKH ABDALLAH AL-AHMAR, CJ OCCASION OF REMOVAL OF ABU LUHUMIST MILITPRY COMMANDERS AND OF THEIR ERSTWHILE ALLY, DEP. CIC ABU SHUWARIB (AHMAR'S BROTHER-IN-LAW), TO DRASTICALLY REDUCE TRIBAL POWER IN COUNTRY. AHMAR REALIZED TOO LATE THAT HE GROWN TOO RICH AND TOO REMOTE FROM HIS TRIBAL CONSTITUENCY, MANY OF WHOM HAMDI HAD WEANED AWAY BY HIS VISION OF MODERN HONEST GOVERNMENT WHICH COULD BRING DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS TO REMOTE PRIMITIVE AREAS. WHEN AHMAR TRIED TO REACT WITH THREATS OF FORCE, MANY OF HIS TRIBAL ALLIES SIMPLY DESERTED. THIS TREND MOST NOTICEABLE IN AVALANCE OF CONGRATULATORY TELEGRAMS FROM PROMINENT SHAIKHS THIS JUNE 13, IN SHARP CONTRAST TO LAST JUNE 13.

9. FONMIN ASNAG AND OTHER HAMDI SUPPORTERS SPEAK OF THIS MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENT AS A KIND OF "SECOND REVOLUTION". THERE IS STRONG ELEMENT OF TRUTH IN THIS. REVOLUTION OF 1962 WHICH ELIMINATED  
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REPRESSIVE HAND OF IMAM HAD UNINTENDED RESULT OF GREATLY INCREASING POWER OF "TRIBAL BARONS", WHO JOINED MODERNISTS IN CREATING REPUBLIC MORE FOR THIER HATRED OF IMAM AND THEIR RAPACSIIOUS TENDENCIES THAN FOR THEIR DEDICATION TO REPUBLICAN IDEALS. UP THROUGH THE 1971 ELECTIONS THEY STILL DOMINATED TRIBAL AREAS

SUFFICIENTLY TO ASSURE THEIR OVERWHELMING CONTROL OF

CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY. BUT IN PAST FEW YEARS, RURAL AREAS, BOTH MORE DOMOCRATIC TRIBAL NORHT AND PEASANT SOUTH TRADITIONALLY DOMINATED BY TRANSPLANTED NORTHERN SHAIKHS, HAVE SEEN THAT THEY CAN BENEFIT MUCH MORE BY DIRECT RELATIONSHIP TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT THAN BY DEPENDING ON INTERMEDIATION OF INCREASINGLY CITIFIED PARAMOUNT SHAIKHS. HAMDI HAD CAREFULLY NURTURED THIS PROCESS BY HIS APPEAL TO YEMENI NATIONALISM AND DESIRE FOR DEVELOPMENT.

10. IMMEDIATE FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HAMDI REGIME WITH ITS PROGRAM OF PRAGMATIC MODERNIZATION LOOK EXCELLENT, BARRING AN UNFORESEEN ASSASSIN'S BULLET. END TO CHAOTIC INTERNAL POLITICAL MANEUVERING HAS RELEASED GREAT DEAL OF POLITICAL ENERGY FOR CONSTRUCTIVE USE. HAMDI WILL STILL, NEVERTHELESS, FACE TWO IMPORTANT PROBLEMS BOTH OF WHICH SEEM MANAGEABLE TO US. ONE IS TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM OF REFORM IN COUNTRY WHICH SUFFERS FROM A WEAK BUREAUCRACY, TRADITION OF FRAGMENTED AUTHORITY, AND ENDEMIC CORRUPTION. HAMDI HAS TRIED TO STESS DIFFICULTY OF TASK, BUT ENTHUSIASM HE HAS CREATED IN PUBLIC HAS ALSO ENGENDERED EXPECTATIONS. SECOND PROBLEM IS TO KEEP ARMY (NAVY AND AIR FORCE ARE NGELIGIBLE) UNIFIED BEHIND HIM. HE HAS MANY LOYAL LIEUTENANTS, ESPECIALLY CHIEF OF STAFF SHASHMI AND PARATROOP CO ABD AL-ALIM, BUT HAS EXPRESSED WORRY ABOUT LOWER RANKING OFFICERS MANY OF WHOM ARE SOVIET-TRAINED AND HAVE BAATHI SYMPATHIES. HE IS DEPENDING ON OFTEN-PROMISED, MUCH-STUDIEZ SAUDI MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM TO ORIENT HIS ARMY TO WEST AND TO QUELL ARMY DISSATISFACTION OVER ITS ADVANCED STATE OF DECREPITUDE. HAMDI HAS RECEIVED LITTLE OR NOTHING YET FROM SAG, BUT STILL SEEMS TO  
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ATTRIBUTE SAG'S INORDINATE DELAYS TO LETHARGY RATHER THAN BAD INTENTIONS. BUT HE WILL NEED SOMETHING IN HAND RELATIVELY SOON OR HE MAY FACE RIAL PROBLEMS WITH SOME OF HIS SUBORDINATES WHO PREFER PAST RELATIONSHIP WITH SOVIETHKNION TO UNPUOVED SAG TIES.

1. PRESENT LEADERSHIP IS MOST PRO-WESTERN AND SPECIFICALLY MOST PRO-AMERICAN ONE YAR HAS EVER HAD. ONE KEY TO THIS RELATIONSHIP IS INFLUENCE YARG BELIEVES WE POSSESS WITH SAG, BOTH TO SPEED MILITARY HELP AND TO SOOTHE POLITICAL MISUNDERSTANDINGS. IT IS ALSO BASED ON FUNDAMENTAL PREFERENCE OF LEADERSHIP FOR WESTERN APPROACH TO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION AND PRAGMATICALLY ON ITS OVERWHELMING NEED FOR SAUDI HELP. NEVERTHELESS YAR

LEADERSHIP HAS STRONG SENSE OF NATIONALISM AND WILL  
TRY TO MAINTAIN SOME ROOM TO MANEUVER TO AVOID TOTAL  
DEPENDENCE ON ITS TIES TO MUCH MORE CONSERVATIVE  
SAG. HAMDI'S SUCCESS WILL DEPEND IN LARG PART ON  
MAINTAINING SAG POLITICWL AND FINANCCIAL SUPPORT  
WITHOUT GIVING IMPRESSION TO HIS COUNTRYMEN THAT HE  
HAS TURNED HIS COUNTRY INTO CLIENT STATE. SO FAR HE  
HAS GIVEN EVERY INDICATION THAT HE CAN DO SO SUCCESS-  
FULLY.  
SCOTES

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